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Christian Ethics and U.S. Foreign Policy

An Annotated Reading List and Guide to Current Information

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by Ernest W. Lefever

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	A Word To the Reader	2
I.	THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	3
	A. Christian Ethics and International Affairs	3
	B. The Nature and Scope of World Politics	5
II.	U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: SURVEY AND CRITIQUE OF MAJOR ISSUES .	6
	C. Over-all Foreign Policy of the United States	6
	D. The United States, the Soviet Union and World Communism . .	8
	E. The United States and Collective Security	10
	F. The United States and the United Nations	11
	G. U.S. Policy in Asia, Africa, and Latin America	13
	H. U.S. Foreign Economic Policy.	16
	I. U.S. Foreign Information Policy	17
III.	HOW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IS MADE	18
	J. The Foreign Policy-Making Process	18
	K. How Citizens Influence U.S. Foreign Policy	19
	L. Channels of Information, Insight, and Influence.	21
	1. Magazines and Newsletters.	21
	2. Newspapers.	23
	3. Radio and TV Commentators	23
	4. Organizations	25

A WORD TO THE READER

Is This Reading List and Guide For You? This list of resources was prepared for laymen and clergymen interested in the everyday problems of U.S. foreign policy. It is intended for political scientists concerned with ethics, and for students of Christian ethics interested in world politics. The editor also had in mind ordinary citizens who want to do something about the direction of U.S. foreign policy.

Titles marked BPL (Basic Pamphlet Library) are recommended for those persons who have no special background in a particular subject. BPL entries include only readable introductions.

How Were the Titles Selected? During the long period of compiling the list we attempted through consultation to choose the best titles available, omitting the more advanced and specialized works. The few items listed which are not in print can be found in most colleges and the larger public libraries.

The entries in section A, "Christian Ethics and International Affairs," represent the major spokesmen of ecumenical theology and ethics today. Several dissenting voices are included. The authors in section B, "The Nature and Scope of World Politics," were chosen because of their acknowledged contribution to history and political science.

Various theological and political viewpoints are represented in Parts II and III. We have given priority to those writers who take into account the findings of political science and who show an appreciation for the Biblical understanding of man, history and social change as interpreted by the great ecumenical conferences such as Oxford (1937) and Amsterdam (1948).

A Guide to Current Intelligence: Section L, "Channels of Information, Insight and Influence," includes a selected list of magazines, newsletters, newspapers, radio and TV commentators, and organizations available to American citizens who want to keep up with current international developments so they can participate effectively in U.S. foreign policy decisions.

Each section of the bibliography is introduced by a brief paragraph indicating the scope of the titles in that section. Each title is accompanied by a short note on its content and/or point of view.

No title in this list (except pronouncements of the National Council of Churches) necessarily represents the position of the Council, its Department of International Justice and Goodwill, or the editor. The editor alone is responsible for the final selection of titles. This bibliography is tentative. The editor would appreciate suggestions for improving future editions.

Ernest W. Lefever
Associate Executive Director
Department of International Justice and Goodwill

15 September 1953

PART I - THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This section includes titles specifically on ethics and international affairs as well as general works on Christian ethics and theology. Most entries were written by leading ecumenical theologians. Priority was given to books which come to grips with the limitations and possibilities of man, of history, and of social change in the light of the classical Christian faith. Such books are helpful in developing a basic understanding of politics among nations.

1. Bennett, John C. Christian Ethics and Social Policy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946. 132 pages.

   A simply-written critique of four Christian social strategies and the development of a fifth strategy. An introductory book on basic social ethics.

2. Brunner, Emil. The Divine Imperative. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1947. 728 pages.

   John C. Bennett calls it, "the greatest book on Christian ethics written by a Protestant in our time." For advanced readers.

BPL 3. Christian Conscience and Weapons of Mass Destruction, The. New York: Federal Council of Churches, 1950. 23 pages. Available at 10¢ per copy from National Council of Churches, 120 E. 23rd St., New York 10, N.Y.

   A report of a special commission of 19 U.S. theologians under the chairmanship of Bishop Angus Dun. Dissenting statements by Robert C. Calhoun and Georgia Harkness are appended.

4. Fagley, Richard M. "Our Ecumenical Heritage in International Affairs," in Ecumenical Review, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Oct. 1953). Reprints available for 5¢ from the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

   A summary of the pronouncements of two great ecumenical conferences (Oxford, 1937 and Amsterdam 1948) on international affairs.

BPL 5. Findings and Decisions of the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches. 1948. 95 pages. Available for 25¢ from World Council of Churches, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

   See especially the section on "The Church and the International Disorder," pages 49 to 65.

6. Holloway, Vernon H. Christians and the World of Nations. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1948. 96 pages. Available for 10¢ from Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

   An introductory study booklet on the subject of international affairs by an author trained both in theology and political science. Simply written.

BPL 7. Holloway, Vernon H. Religious Ethics and the Politics of Power. 1951. 72 pages. Available for 50¢ from Church Peace Union, 170 E. 64th St., New York 21, N.Y.

   An excellent study booklet on the Christian faith and world politics for mature individuals and study groups. The author is competent both in theology and political science.

8. International Affairs: Christians in the Struggle for World Community. 1953. 11 pages. Available for 5¢ from World Council of Churches, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

   One of the introductory study leaflets for the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Illinois, in August, 1954. Prepared by an international committee of theologians.

9. Muste, A. J. Not By Might. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. 227 pages.

An appraisal of the international situation by a thorough-going Christian pacifist who insists the first task of the churches is to repudiate war.

10. Niebuhr, Reinhold. Christianity and Power Politics. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946. 226 pages.

The author holds "that the modern Christian and secular perfectionism, which places a premium upon nonparticipation in conflict, is a very sentimentalized version of the Christian faith and is at variance with the profoundest insights of the Christian religion."

11. Niebuhr, Reinhold. Faith and History. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. 257 pages.

A comparative study of the classical Christian view of history with modern views of history by a present-day spokesman for "Biblical realism."

12. Niebuhr, H. Richard. Christ and Culture. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. 258 pages.

An incisive analysis of five positions on the relation of Christ to culture (the Christian faith to the world).

13. Ramsey, Paul. Basic Christian Ethics. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950. 404 pages.

One of the most widely used texts in Christian ethics in the U.S. today. For advanced readers.

BPL 14. Responsible Society, The. 1949. 23 pages. Single copies free from World Council of Churches, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A penetrating "ecumenical inquiry" by a committee of the World Council Study Department. Based on the Amsterdam findings.

15. Tillich, Paul. The Shaking of the Foundations. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. 186 pages.

A collection of 22 brief, readable sermons which serve as an introduction to this highly respected Christian philosopher. Deals with the present religious-cultural-political situation. For students with some theological background.

16. Thomas, M. M., and McCaughley, J. D. The Christian in the World Struggle. Geneva, Switzerland: World Student Christian Federation, 1951. 165 pages. Available for $1 from the United Student Christian Council, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

Written by an Indian and a Britisher, this booklet gives a theological analysis of the struggle for social justice and community today. For advanced students.

17. Whale, John S. Christian Doctrine. London: Cambridge University Press, 1941. 197 pages.

One of the best brief, yet comprehensive, statements of systematic Christian theology. Simply and interestingly written. A clear expression of classical Christianity.

18. Williams, Daniel D. "Christian Faith and Social Action," in Christianity and Society, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring, 1953), pages 7-13. This number is available for 40¢ from the Christianity and Society office, 3041 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

A fresh study of the problem for mature readers.

19. Wolfers, Arnold. "Statesmanship and Moral Choice," in World Politics, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jan., 1949), pages 175-195.

This political scientist holds that responsible statesmen must choose between conflicting moral values in making political decisions. For mature readers.

B. THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF WORLD POLITICS

The fateful decisions which mean war or peace, tyranny or freedom, insecurity or security in our time are made by the governments of nation states. Decisions of super-powers like the United States affect profoundly the entire world. These decisions are political decisions. Politics within nations and among nations is fundamentally the same--the business of getting and holding power to advance certain policies. All politics is by definition power politics. In this section we include the works of historians and political scientists who discuss the nature and scope of politics among nations. An understanding of world politics will contribute greatly to an understanding of the U.S. foreign policy issues dealt with in Parts II and III.

1. Becker, Howard L. How New Will the Better World Be? New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. 246 pages.

   A charmingly-written book. Although dated in parts, pages 22 to 107 contain a penetrating discussion of the persistent elements in international affairs--the nation state, nationalism, power politics. History after World War II has vindicated his analysis. For the average reader.

2. Carr, Edward H. The Twenty Years' Crisis. London: Macmillan & Co., 1946. 244 pages.

   A brilliant introduction to world politics, with special attention to the period from 1919-1939. Contains an excellent discussion of politics and ethics. A realistic analysis for the average reader.

3. Dunn, Frederick S. "The Present Course of International Relations Research," in World Politics, Vol. 2, No. 1 (October 1949) pages 80-95.

   An analysis of research trends for advanced students.

4. Fox, William T. R. "Interwar International Relations Research: The American Experience," in World Politics, Vol. 2, No. 1 (October, 1949) pages 67-79.

   For advanced students.

5. Fox, William T. R. The Super Powers. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944. 184 pages.

   One of the most penetrating books on world politics in this decade. The author shows how peace in the postwar world depends upon the decisions of the three super powers: the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and Britain. Recent history has confirmed his analysis.

6. Marshall, C. B. "National Interest and National Responsibility," in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 282 (July, 1952), pages 84-90.

   A brilliant critique of the pure national-interest approach to foreign policy. Nations have responsibilities which transcend their narrow interests.

7. Morgenthau, Hans J. Politics Among Nations. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. 508 pages.

   The most widely used text book on world politics in U.S. colleges. The author is a spokesman for "national interest" as the keystone of foreign policy. This emphasis is criticized by Fox, Marshall, and Wolfers.

8. Morgenthau, Hans J. and Fox, William T. R. "National Interest and Moral Responsibility," in American Scholar, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring, 1949), pages 207-215.

   Fox criticizes Morgenthau for elevating the national interest as the sole value in foreign policy. For advanced readers.

9. Morgenthau, Hans J. and Thompson, Kenneth W., editors. Principles and Problems of International Politics. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. 480 pages.

   Selected essays that deal with the power struggle among nations. Valuable source book for advanced students.

10. Wolfers, Arnold. " 'National Security' As An Ambiguous Symbol," in Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 67, No. 4 (December, 1952), pages 481-502.

The author maintains that "national security" can be served in many ways of which military defense is only one.

PART II - U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: SURVEY AND CRITIQUE OF MAJOR ISSUES

The United States is the most powerful nation in the world, economically, politically, and militarily. She is the undisputed leader of the free world. The sum total of decisions made by the U.S. Government which affect peoples and nations outside the United States is called foreign policy. Foreign policy is political, but it is expressed through military, diplomatic, economic, and ideological channels. In Part II the titles deal with these different aspects of U.S. policy. The historic insights of the Christian faith help us to understand the major problems facing the United States today and to evaluate alternative policies for dealing with these problems.

C. OVER-ALL FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

All titles which do not fit conveniently into the other six sections of Part II are listed here. Many books and pamphlets should be listed in more than one section, but in the interests of economy we are not doing this. If you are looking for a reference on a particular topic, check several sections before giving up.

1. Ascoli, Max. The Political Yearbook, 1952. New York: Fortnightly Publishing Co., 1953. 160 pages. (This book is circulated only to subscribers of The Reporter; see section L, No. 1).

This book is made up largely of articles and editorials which appeared in The Reporter during 1952. It deals with U.S. policy in Europe and Asia, pages 11-66. The Reporter is widely acclaimed for brilliant reporting and responsible opinion.

2. Block, Herbert. The Herblock Book. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952. 244 pages.

This book of cartoons and comment by one of America's greatest political cartoonists comes to grips with the major domestic and foreign policy issues of the post-World War II period.

3. Brookings Institution. Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy, 1952-1953. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, issued annually. About 450 pages.

A systematic survey of the major foreign policy issues facing the U.S. A valuable handbook for advanced students.

4. Bundy, McGeorge, editor. The Pattern of Responsibility. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951. 309 pages.

The public record of Secretary of State Dean Acheson from 1949-1951. This provides a readable coverage of U.S. foreign policy for the period.

5. Christian Faith and International Responsibility, The (tentative title). 1953. Available for 25¢ (?) from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

Message and findings of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30, 1953.

BPL 6. Corsi, Edward. Paths to the New World: American Immigration--Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. 1953. 46 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A survey of U.S. immigration policy and suggestions for a new policy "based on humanitarian principles designed to fulfill our duties and obligations to suffering mankind, and adequate for our needs and for our security." Illustrated, for the average reader.

7. Craig, Gordon A. "The Professional Diplomat and His Problem, 1919-1939," World Politics, Vol. 4, No. 2, (Jan. 1952), pages 145-158.

Emphasizes the importance of diplomacy in achieving foreign policy goals and indicates the inadequate use made of it between the two world wars. For advanced students.

8. Dulles, John Foster. War or Peace. New York: Macmillan Company, 1950. 274 pages.

A systematic statement of the foreign policy views of Mr. Dulles three years before he became Secretary of State.

9. Hoffman, Paul G. Peace Can Be Won. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1951. 93 pages.

The author outlines a positive policy to counter the Soviet Union's four-pronged offensive--military, economic, political, and psychological. For average readers.

10. Holloway, Vernon H. "Utopianism and Realism in Foreign Policy," in Christian Faith and Social Action. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953, pages 175-198.

The author holds that utopian assumptions regarding the nature of man and of history have lead to confusion in the formulating of U.S. foreign policy. He makes a theological and political critique of isolationism, pacifism, and internationalism.

BPL 11. Kennan, George F. American Diplomacy, 1900-1950. New York: Mentor Books, 501 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y., 1952. 144 pages. 35¢.

A popular and readable survey of U.S. diplomacy. The legalistic and moralistic approach to foreign policy is criticized and a plea made for a realistic power analysis.

12. Lippmann, Walter. Isolation and Alliances. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1952. 56 pages.

This distinguished American analyst defends the view that, "the Atlantic alliance is now the cornerstone of our foreign policy." For the average reader.

BPL 13. Moral Responsibility and United States Power. 1949. 12 pages. Available for 5¢ from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A message to the Churches from the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, March 8-11, 1949. This historic document develops the concept of the responsible use of political and military power.

BPL 14. New Role of the United States, The. 1952. 6 pages. Available for 5¢, $3.75 per 100, from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

The 1952 World Order Day Message (October 19) is an official pronouncement of the National Council of Churches.

15. Niebuhr, Reinhold. The Irony of American History. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. 174 pages.

The present position of the U.S. in the world is surveyed in historical perspective and in the light of the Christian faith. For advanced readers.

BPL 16. Our Foreign Policy, 1953. 1952. 80 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (State Department Publication No. 4466.)

An official publication of the U.S. Department of State on over-all U.S. foreign policy. Discusses basic principles of our policy. For the average reader. (Inquire about more recent edition.)

BPL 17. Perkins, Dexter. The Story of U.S. Foreign Policy. 1951. 50 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y. (No. 90 in the Headline Series.)

Excellent historical summary of U.S. foreign policy, including a presentation of current problems. For the average reader.

18. Price of American Power, The. 4 pages. Available for 5¢, $2.50 per 100, from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

The 1953 World Order Day Message, (October 25) is an official pronouncement of the National Council of Churches.

19. Roberts, Henry L. and Wilson, Paul A. Britain and the United States. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. 253 pages.

A combined report of the American Council on Foreign Relations and the British Royal Institute on International Affairs, based on an 18-month exchange of memoranda. The book assumes that British-American cooperation is essential.

20. Steps To Peace: A Quaker View of United States Foreign Policy. American Friends Service Committee, 1951. 64 pages.

A Quaker critique of U.S. foreign policy. For the average reader.

21. U.S. Foreign Service, The. 1952. 23 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (State Department Publication No. 4559.

An illustrated description of how our foreign service officers work and of the elaborate selection and training process each one receives.

22. Ward, Barbara. Policy for the West. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1951. 317 pages.

The author believes the West must develop more comprehensive policies for united action both to meet the Soviet threat and to plan for a healthier economy.

23. Whom We Shall Welcome. 1953. 319 pages. Available for 75¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

The Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. It concludes that 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Law is "unwise and injurious to the nation" and develops recommendations for a new U.S. policy. A basic work in this field.

24. Woodrow Wilson Foundation. Official Documents-Texts of Selected Documents on U.S. Foreign Policy, 1918-1952. New York: Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 45 East 65th St., New York 21, N.Y., 1952. 75 pages. Free.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, the Atlantic Charter, and the North Atlantic Treaty are included with ten other historic documents.

D. THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION AND WORLD COMMUNISM

Like two giants the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are arrayed against each other. The Soveit Union, assisted by Kremlin-controlled Communist Parties throughout the world, is aggressively expansionist. Since 1944 the U.S.S.R. has swallowed up at least nine independent states and it now controlls an empire of 800,000,000 people. The U.S. and other Western nations have granted independence to important colonial possessions

such as India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia and the Philippines. The titles in this section deal with different phases of this world struggle between the aggressive U.S.S.R. (and satellites) and the U.S. (and allies). The subject of this section is also dealt with elsewhere, especially in sections C and E.

1. Bennett, John C. Christianity and Communism. New York: Association Press, 1948. 128 pages.

   The best brief discussion of the basic conflicts between communism and Christianity. The three-fold analysis of communism, pages 11-45, is most helpful. For average readers.

BPL 2. Bennett, John C. Communism and the West...The Basic Conflicts. 1953. 30 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th St., New York 21, N.Y..

   A clear, concise, analysis of the four basic conflicts--communism and capitalism - totalitarianism and the open society - communist faith and Christian faith - the U.S.R. and the non-Soviet world. Recommended for the general reader.

3. Deutscher, Isaac. Russia, What Next? New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. 230 pages.

   The author regards "material-economic forces" as the basic determinants of social political development in Russia. In light of this assumption he interprets Stalinism and forecasts the future of Malenkovism.

4. Eisenhower, Dwight D. Chance For Peace, The. April 16, 1953. 10 pages. Available free from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. as Department of State Publication No. 5042.

   In this speech on U.S. and U.S.S.R. relations the President emphasized the "readiness of the free nations to welcome any genuine evidence of peaceful purpose" on the part of the Soviet Union.

5. Gurian, Waldemar. Bolshevism. South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1952. 189 pages.

   This noted Roman Catholic scholar discusses communism as a living religion and the foundation of the very flexible Soviet politics. A highly regarded book for advanced readers.

6. Hunt, R.N. Carew. The Theory and Practice of Communism. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1952. 239 pages.

   The historical development of communism inside and outside Russia. A widely used text. Excellent for advanced readers.

7. Kremlin Speaks, The. 1951. 37 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. as Department of State Publication No. 4264.

   Excerpts from statements by U.S.S.R. leaders on goals and techniques in Soviet domestic and foreign policies.

8. Let Freedom Ring. 1952. 96 pages. Available for 50¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Department of State Publication, No. 4443.)

   It describes graphically and realistically the world struggle between Soviet tyranny and the free nations as seen by U.S. foreign policy-makers. Well illustrated. For the average reader.

BPL 9. Malik, Charles. War and Peace. 1950. 42 pages. Available for 5¢ from the National Committee for Free Europe, Inc., 301 Empire State Building, 350 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N.Y.

   A brilliant critique of Soviet foreign policy by Dr. Malik, minister of Lebanon to the U.S. and the UN.

10. Moore, Barrinton. Soviet Politics--The Dilemna of Power. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. 503 pages.

This analysis pays particular attention to the original Bolshevik ideas and the extent to which they have actually influenced social change in Russia. For advanced readers.

11. Orwell, George. Nineteen Eighty-Four. New York: Signet Books, 1950. 237 pages.

This novel of life in Oceania under the dictatorship of Big Brother is a vivid and penetrating portrayal of the totalitarian state. It gives insight into the motives and behavior of the U.S.S.R.

BPL 12. Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. What About Communism? 1950. 32 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

Especially good for its analysis of the Communist Party in the United States and recommendations on how to deal with it.

13. Soviet-American Relations. 1946. 15 pages. Available for 5¢ from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches. It is optimistic, but does say a continuation of Soviet aggressiveness could "jeopardize the peace."

14. "Soviet Union Since World War II, The," a special edition of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Volume 263 (May, 1949). 278 pages. Available for $2.00 from The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3817 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, Penn.

An excellent collection of essays written by experts on various aspects of Soviet domestic life and foreign policy.

E. THE UNITED STATES AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

No nation, not even the might United States, is powerful enough to go it alone. Nor is the U.S. good enough to go her own way without the moral restraint and judgment of other powers, hostile, neutral, or friendly. Recognizing this, the U.S. is building up collective defense and security arrangements in Europe and Asia. NATO is the major effort. The collective action of the UN in resisting communist agression in Korea would not have been possible without the leadership of the U.S. The entries in this section deal with the problems, limitations, and possibilities of collective security and defense arrangements.

1. Fox, William T.R. "NATO and Coalition Diplomacy," in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 288 (July, 1953), pages 114-118.

The author says NATO is a new kind of military alliance. Its toughest task is to build a concerted plan of action among nations in a rapidly changing political situation. For advanced readers.

BPL 2. Fox, William T.R. The Struggle for Atomic Control. 1947. 32 pages. Available for 20¢ from the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

Although written in 1947, it deals with the basic and continuing conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. on atomic control.

3. Goodrich, Leland M. "The United Nations and the Korean War: A Case Study," in Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. 25, No. 2 (January, 1953), pages 90-105.

The UN's action in Korea shows it can be utilized to defeat aggression, under certain conditions. The author feels the UN's success was due largely to the quick action by the U.S. and its willingness to assume a very large share of the total load.

BPL 4. Nolde, O. Frederick. Disarmament. 1952. 10 pages. Available for 5¢ from the American Association for the United Nations, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

The Director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs says a "favorable international climate" is necessary because nations will not disarm in a period of high tension.

5. "NATO and World Peace," a special edition of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 288 (July, 1953). 237 pages. Available for $2.00 from the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Penna.

A collection of essays on the role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, including a helpful article by William T.R. Fox, "NATO and Coalition Diplomacy." (See E-1)

6. North Atlantic Treaty Organization-Its Development and Significance. 1952. 50 pages. Available for 20¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., as Department of State Publication, No. 4630.

A useful discussion of problems facing NATO, an organizational chart, and questions and anwers on NATO. The official position of the U.S.

BPL 7. Regional Organizations. 1953. 34 pages. Available for 15¢ from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., as Department of State Publication, No. 4944.

A brief description of the development and functions and U.S. relations with the eight organizations of European unity, including the European Defense Community, NATO, and the Schuman Plan.

8. Threat to Our National Security, The. 1952. 44 pages. Single copies available free from the Committee For Economic Development, 444 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

This pamphlet explores the nature of the threat to the U.S. and the free world and what should be the goals of our foreign policy. An excellent analysis by a highly respected business research organization.

9. United Nations and Collective Action Against Aggression, The. 1951. 48 pages. Available for 20¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., as Department of State Publication, No. 4287.

It examines the UN as an instrument of collective action against aggression with specific reference to Korea. Somewhat dated, but a good discussion guide to some basic questions. For the average reader.

10. United States and Collective Security, The. (tentative title) 1953. Available for 25¢ from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

Findings of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 27-30, 1953.

F. THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The UN has both a political function and a non-political function. Politically the UN was set up to keep the peace. This the UN has not done. This the UN cannot do, because it has no political power. Decisions of peace and war rest primarily with the super powers. But the UN can provide an atmosphere conducive to the settlement of the problems between the Soviet and non-Soviet worlds. Their settlement, however, depends upon the willingness of the disputing powers to compromise their differences. The U.S. needs the UN as an instrument of cooperation and restraint. The UN would fail without the active participation of the U.S. The non-political or humanitarian functions of the UN carried on through the Specialized Agencies are very important, but they have little to do with the immediate problems of keeping the peace.

1. Basic Facts About the United Nations. 1952. 45 pages. Available for 15¢ from International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

A good, brief summary answering common questions about the UN.

BPL 2. Berle, A. A. Jr. "Our Enlightened Self-Interest and the United Nations", in The Reporter, Vol. 7, No. 13 (December 23, 1952), pages 34-37. Reprints avilable free from the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

This article comes to grips with the current criticisms of the UN and presents a strong case for full U.S. participation.

3. Cates, John M. Jr. Expanding Concept of Individual Liberties. 1952. 6 pages. Available for 5¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Department of State Publication No. 4458. A reprint from the Department of State Bulletin of December 31, 1951, pages 1059-1064.)

This reprint answers the charge that an International Covenant(s) on Human Rights would curtail traditional U.S. civil rights.

4. Dunn, Frederick S. War and the Minds of Men. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. 115 pages.

A critical examination of the extent to which UNESCO can build the peace "in the minds of men". See especially the chapter on "The Public Arena," for conclusions of the study. For advanced readers.

5. Everyman's United Nations. 1952 (third edition). 388 pages. Available for $1.50 from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

A ready reference to the structure and work of the UN and its related agencies. The most complete and authoritative coverage of the UN available in one small volume.

6. Fox, William T. R. "The United Nations in the Era of Total Diplomacy," in International Organization, Vol. V, No. 2, 1951, pages 265-273.

An incisive analysis of the political limitations and possibilities of the UN in a bi-pola world.

7. Letter to Members of the U.S. Delegation to the UN Eighth General Assembly from the National Council of Churches, September 17, 1953, 4 pages, mimeographed. Available for 10¢ from the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

This letter dealing with Korea, collective security, armament reduction, technical assistance, human rights, and refugees, is an official pronouncement of the National Council of Churches.

8. Lilienthal, Alfred M. Which Way to World Government? 1950. 62 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y. as Headline Series, No. 83.

Brief discussions of several popular plans for achieving world government, including Atlantic Union and that of the United World Federalists. The author assumes that world government is desirable.

BPL 9. Niebuhr, Reinhold. The Illusion of World Government. 1949. 31 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Graphics Group, Whitestone, N.Y. Also, in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 27, No. 3, (April, 1949), pages 379-388.

A discussion of fallacies and limitation in any world government proposal. The author holds that world government advocates have not come to grips with the problem of power and social change.

BPL 10. Niebuhr, Reinhold. The Moral Implications of Loyalty to the United Nations. 1952. 13 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Edward Hazen Foundation, 400 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn.

A thoughtful analysis of what we can expect from the UN as a bridge between the U.S. and Russia and as an agency for integrating the free world. Confronts the problem of what is required of the U.S. if it is to be loyal to the UN. For the average reader.

11. Niebuhr, Reinhold. "The Theory and Practice of UNESCO," in International Organization, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Feb. 1950), pages 3-11.

The author strongly supports UNESCO's program of activities but repugiates the claim that UNESCO alone can build peace.

12. Nolde, O. Frederick. International Covenant of Human Rights. 1952. 16 pages. Single copies available free from the American Association for the United Nations, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y. $5.00 per hundred; discounts on larger orders.

The author deals with the status of the Covenant as of May 1952 and answers criticism directed against it.

13. Uhl, Alexander. The Assault on the UN. 1953. 35 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Public Affairs Institute, 312 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington 3, D.C.

The best available account of the groups attacking the UN, their charges, and the rebuttals. Contains a section on the proposed Bricker amendment. For the average reader.

BPL 14. Van Kirk, Walter W. The Churches and the United Nations. 1953. 23 pages. Available for 15¢ from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A survey of the failures and successes of the UN, indicating the interest of the American churches in founding and supporting the UN.

BPL 15. Zocca, Marie and Louis. The United Nations--Action for Peace. 1953. 59 pages. Available for 35¢ from Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

The best brief, illustrated guide for the layman on what the UN is and what it has done politically, economically, and socially.

G. U.S. POLICY IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA.

The peoples of Asia and Africa are in revolt against foreign domination, racial discrimination, poverty, and illiteracy. Both the Soviet Union and the Western world are involved in this great upheaval. The U.S.S.R. is stirring up violent revolts for its own political ends. The Western powers have a stake in peaceful change. To facilitate such change the U.S. has launched a modest program of technical assistance to the economically less-developed areas. The entries in this section deal not only with Point 4 but also with the military, diplomatic and ideological-psychological aspects of foreign policy. There is one title on Latin-America.

1. "Africa in the World Today," Information Service, Vol. 32, No. 22 (May 30, 1953). 4 pages. Available for 10¢ from the Central Department of Research and Survey, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A bird's eye view of African political and social problems today, the impact of the West, and the role of the Church in Africa.

2. Bowles, Chester. "How To Win Friends and Influence Asia," in the New York Times Magazine, January 4, 1953, pages 12, 41, 43.

The former U.S. ambassador to India says the best way is to send Americans who are helpful, adaptable, unprejudiced, and willing to understand Oriental ways. A penetrating article for the average reader.

BPL 3. "Christian Faith and World Upheaval, The," Social Action, Vol. 18, No. 5 (March, 1952). 48 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Council on Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A Christian interpretation of U.S. responsibility in the world with emphasis on a positive policy in the economically less-developed areas.

4. "Christians and the Point IV Program," Social Action, Vol. 15, No. 8 (October, 1949). 39 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

One of the earliest documents written on the U.S. program of technical assistance, this pamphlet states some of the basic moral problems of helping economically less-developed areas.

5. Churches and American Policy in the Far East, The. 1949. 8 pages. Available for 5¢ from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A statement by the Federal Council of Churches that discusses church policy and U.S. foreign policy in the Far East.

6. Durdin, Tillman and Smith Robert A. China and the World. 1953. 63 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

A systematic analysis of Red China in 1953, emphasizing its foreign policy toward Asia and the West. A chapter on Formosa is included. A helpful discussion for the average reader.

7. Espy, Willard R. Bold New Program. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. 273 pages.

A popular and comprehensive account of the Point Four program of technical assistance. The author is quite optimistic, but recognizes that Point Four is only one aspect of our overall foreign policy.

8. Goodfriend, Arthur. The Only War We Seek. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Young, Inc., 1951. 127 pages.

An excellent photographic presentation of the difficulties in interpreting U.S. foreign policy in economically less-developed areas, especially in Asia.

9. Goodfriend, Arthur. What Can A Man Do? New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Young, Inc., 1953. 128 pages.

A dramatic photographic presentation of the accomplishments of Point Four and other international development projects.

10. Isaacs, Harold R. and Ross, Emory. Africa, New Crisis in the Making. 1952. 62 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

A survey of the rising tide of nationalism and the demand for improved living standards throughout Africa. See especially pages 45-56 for a discussion of U.S. Policy in Africa. For the average reader.

11. Military Assistance to Latin America. 1953. 7 pages. Available for 5¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. as Department of State Publication No. 4917.

This brief pamphlet answers questions on the cooperative military assistance arrangements in the Americas. For advanced readers.

12. Pacific Security: Its New Foundations. 1952. 8 pages. Available for 5¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Department of State Publication, No. 4556.)

"The fabric of peace in the Far East" depends upon the collective-security arrangements between the U.S. and Japan, and between U.S. and the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand.

BPL 13. Point Four Profiles. 1953. 38 pages. Available for 20¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Well-written, illustrated stories of Point Four activity in Iran, Ecuador, India, and Chile. Told in human interest terms. For the average reader.

BPL 14. Point Four, What it is...How it Works. 1953. 12 pages. Available for 5¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Department of State Publication, No. 4868.)

In a clear and concise way it tells the story of this part of U.S. foreign economic policy. An excellent map shows what kind of assistance is given to each country. For the average reader.

15. Polk, William R. and Butler, W. Jack. What the Arabs Think. 1952. 63 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

A review of the Arab Middle East, how the Arabs look at the West, and the main problems of U.S. foreign policy in the area. Mr. Butler contributes a brief section on the relations of American business with the Arab world.

16. Reischauer, Edwin O. The United States and Japan. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950. 357 pages.

Against a background of Japan's past relations with the West, the author evaluates General MacArthur's work and makes cogent suggestions for our future policy. A basic book for advanced readers.

17. Roosevelt, Eleanor. India and the Awakening East. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953. 237 pages.

Mrs. Roosevelt gives her impressions of basic problems that grip the East in an illustrated, readable account of her 1952 trip. She reports on India, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, and Pakistan. For the average reader.

18. Thompson, Virginia and Adloff. Empire's End in Southeast Asia. 1949. 62 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

Brief, factual surveys of the independence movements and declining foreign control in Indonesia, Thailand, Indochina, Malaya, and Burma. Parts are out of date, but it is still one of the best summaries available.

19. United States Policy in the Near East, 1945-1951, The Development of. 1952. 13 pages. Available for 10¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Department of State Publication, No. 446.)

A concise factual analysis by a government expert.

20. Van Kirk, Walter. Government Programs of Technical Assistance and Mission Boards. 1952. 16 pages. Available for 10¢ from the Division of Foreign Missions, National Council of Churches, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A call for the churches to support U.S. and UN technical assistance programs and to increase this ministry in the present mission enterprise.

H. U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

U.S. participation in collective defenses and security arrangements means she has a stake in the economic health of her dollar-hungry allies. The "dollar gap" can be closed by grants or loans from the U.S. or by making it possible for our allies to sell more of their goods here by lowering U.S. tariff restrictions and simplifying customs procedures. The Congress appears to be tired of aid, but reluctant to increase trade. The entries in this section will deal with this trade-aid problem, and with international monetary policy, foreign investment and technical assistance.

1. American Churches and Overseas Development Programs, The. 1951. 16 pages. Available for 10¢ from the National Council of Churches, 120 East 23rd St., New York 10, N.Y.

   The Findings of a special consultation on the churches relations to peoples in underdeveloped areas. A discussion of basic guiding principles.

2. Condliffe, J.B. Point Four and the World Economy. 1950. 62 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

   An introduction to economic development abroad in the context of the world economy and trade. For the average reader.

BPL 3. Lamb, Beatrice Pitney. Trade-And Aid. 1953. 28 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

   The author discusses the importance of lower tariffs and freer trade to the United States and the free world, though some aid is still needed to help nations balance their U.S. purchases. For average readers.

BPL 4. Mutual Security Program, Report to Congress on the. 1953. 61 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

   A comprehensive and well-illustrated report on the Mutual Security program of military and economic aid to our allies during the first six months of 1953.

5. "Problems in 'Trade, Not Aid'", a special issue of Economic Outlook, Vol. 9, No. 2 (February 1953), 8 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

   This brief pamphlet explains the current U.S. trade situation and gives qualified support to a policy of low tariffs. Excellent pictorial graphs. For the average reader.

6. Slichter, Sumner H. "More Imports Needed," in the Atlantic, Vol. 191, No. 1 (January 1953), Pages 34-37.

   He concludes that U.S. exports and general economic health in the free world depend on increasing U.S. imports. For the average reader.

BPL 7. Together We Are Strong. 1952. 39 pages. Available for 20¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., as Department of State Publication 4614.

   This attractive booklet shows our dependence on imports from other lands and the necessity for us to lower tariff barriers to facilitate a free flow of world trade. For the average reader.

8. U.S. and Foreign Economic Policy, The. (tentative title) 1953. Available for 25¢ (?) from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

   Findings of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 27-30, 1953.

9. Why Foreign Aid: Facts About the Mutual Security Program. 1951. 20 pages. Available for 20¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., (Department of State Publication, No. 4301.)

Though somewhat dated, an excellent discussion of the why and how of Mutual Security. For the average reader.

I. U.S. FOREIGN INFORMATION POLICY

The term "propaganda warfare" does not adequately convey the breadth or significance of what the U.S. is attempting to do through its International Information Administration. The purpose of the program is not only to correct the distortions of the Soviet propaganda apparatus, but to supplement other aspects of foreign policy by providing the people of the world with a "full and fair picture" of the U.S. and its aims. The ideological-psychological approach is never a substitute for diplomacy, collective security, or economic policy, but it is a valuable handmaiden to them all.

1. Barrett, Edward W. Truth is Our Weapon. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1953. 355 pages.

The author points out the importance of our information services to the total U.S. foreign policy. He analyzes the failures and successes of the information program and makes suggestions for the future. The basic book in this field today. For the average reader.

BPL 2. IIA, The International Information Administration Program. 1953. 32 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

The best single review--includes the Voice of America, motion pictures, exchange of persons, information centers, and publications. There are also case histories of how the program works in different countries. For the average reader.

3. Lyons, Roger. "Religion and the Voice of America," in Department of State Bulletin, Vol. 27, No. 698, (Nov. 10, 1952) pages 727-8.

The Director of Religions Programming says the Voice tells the world "the United States has a conscience toward mankind and that it is a nation under God."

4. Padover, Saul K. and Lasswell, Harold D. Psychological Warfare. 1951. 62 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

Mr. Padover discusses the history of psychological warfare, what it is today and how it can be more effective. Mr. Lasswell examines the strategy of Soviet propaganda.

5. Schlesinger, Arthur Jr. "Psychological Warfare: Can It Sell Freedom?," in The Reporter, Vol. 8, No. 7, (March 31, 1953) pages 9-12.

Psychological warfare is not a substitute for diplomacy, but only one important aid in achieving foreign policy goals for a democracy. A basic article for all readers.

6. Telling America's Story Abroad. 1951. 28 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Department of State Publication, No. 4075.)

Though some details are dated, this presents a good review of the basic job of the total information program. A readable, attractively illustrated report for the average reader.

7. "Voice of America, The," Information Service, Vol. 32, No. 6, (February 7, 1953) 4 pages. Available for 10¢ from the Central Department of Research and Survey, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A short, concise review of the Voice, its policy problems, and its effectiveness. For average readers.

8. World at Your Door, The. 1952. 32 pages. Available free from the Institute of International Education 1 East 67th St., New York 21, N.Y.

   A practical handbook on the importance of foreign exchange students and visitors in our international information program. Includes an excellent section on how to entertain foreign students.

PART III - HOW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IS MADE

In the United States final foreign policy decisions are made by the President and the State Department. In a democracy the President and Secretary of State must take seriously the people in whose name they act. The attitudes of the people expressed through Congress, through the major political parties and through pressure groups have an important effect, for good or ill, on U.S. foreign policy decisions. Titles in Part III deal with the foreign policy-making process with emphasis on the part citizens play in it. Section L lists responsible channels of information, insight and influence.

J. THE FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

This section deals with the structure of the foreign policy-making process in the State Department and the Congress. It includes titles on the relation of public opinion to foreign policy and on the psychological factors which influence opinion. Some items discuss the role of political parties and pressure groups. (See also section K.)

1. Almond, Gabriel A. The American People and Foreign Policy. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1950. 269 pages.

   The best available work on the role of the American people in making and evaluating U.S. foreign policy.

2. Barth, Alan. The Loyalty of Free Men. New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1952. 282 pages. 35¢.

   America's way of dealing with the Communist threat and "national loyalty" has had a profound effect on our foreign policy. The chapter on "The Cult of Loyalty" is especially helpful.

3. Bolles, Blair. Who Makes Our Foreign Policy? 1947. 94 pages. Available for 35¢ from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

   An analysis of the roles played by the President, the Departments of Government, Congress, and the people in making foreign policy. For the average reader.

4. Dahl, Robert. Congress and Foreign Policy. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950. 305 pages.

   A critical study of the problems faced by the Congress in making foreign policy decisions today. A basic work.

BPL 5. David, Joan. Inside the State Department. 1952. 64 pages. Available for 75¢ from the Manhattan Publishing Co., 225 Lafayette St., New York 12, N.Y.

   This pamphlet shows how the State Department is organized and how it operates at home and abroad. Illustrated. For the average reader.

6. "Foreign Policy and Public Opinion," in Social Action, Vol. 17, No. 1, (Jan. 15, 1951), 39 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Council For Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

The essay maintains that a positive and responsible foreign policy requires informed and organized public opinion groups. For the average reader.

7. Johnstone, Anne H. and Mitchell, Georgianna F. Making Foreign Policy: USA. 1953. 43 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., 461 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

A brief handbook on how U.S. foreign policy is formed and executed, including a discussion of the main problems to more effective policy-making. For the average reader.

8. Lasswell, Harold D. "World Politics and Personal Insecurity," in A Study of Power. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950. 307 pages.

A discussion of world peace in terms of the psychological changes required in man. The author draws heavily on contemporary psychoanalysis. For advanced readers.

9. McKean, Dayton D. Party and Pressure Politics. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1949. 712 pages.

A comprehensive and realistic picture of how political parties work and how U.S. pressure groups influence public policy. A widely used book in this field. For advanced readers.

BPL 10. Schattschneider, E.E. "Our Unrecognized Governmental Crisis," Social Action, Vol. 16, No. 8, (Oct. 15, 1950), 35 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Council For Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A study by a leading political scientist of American government and political parties, indicating barriers to effective policy making. Suggestions for correcting the situation are included. For the average reader.

11. Schriftgiesser, Karl. The Lobbyists. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951. 297 pages.

A carefully documented survey of the "art and business of influencing lawmakers" in Washington. Serves as a guide to the main pressure groups past and present, and evaluates efforts to regulate lobbying. Popular reading.

BPL 12. Strengthening Our Foreign Policy. 1952. 32 pages. Available for 25¢ from Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

In this well-illustrated study, a group including Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and George Kennan, analyze our foreign policy-making process and recommend Congressional and Executive reforms. For the average reader.

K. HOW CITIZENS INFLUENCE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

This section deals with the same general area covered by section J, but emphasizes how citizens act through all the channels of influence at their disposal. It includes several titles which analyze church lobbying in Washington and Protestant political behavior in general.

BPL 1. "The Christian Faith and American Politics," Social Action, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Nov. 1951), 36 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A critical study of Christian responsibility in American politics written by men trained both in politics and theology. For the average reader.

2. "Christian Faith and Public Opinion, The," Social Action, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Feb. 1952), 48 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

An analysis of how the channels of public communication influence opinion in the U.S. Suggests steps to build a more responsible public opinion. For average readers.

3. Ebersole, Luke E. Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capital. New York: The Mac Millan Co., 1951. 195 pages.

A brief survey of Protestant and Roman Catholic lobbying for narrow institutional concerns and for broader domestic and foreign policies.

4. Holloway, Vernon H. "Power Politics and the Christian Conscience," Social Action, Vol. 16, No. 2, (Feb. 1950), 42 pages.

A critical study of the behavior of American Protestants in the field of foreign policy, including commentaries on the study by three churchmen, Walter W. Van Kirk, E. Raymond Wilson, and John C. Bennett.

5. Kennan, George F. "Training for Statesmanship," in The Atlantic, Vol. 191, No. 3 (May 1953), pages 40-43.

The author says that those who would work in the field of foreign policy should study man as a political animal, for the behavior of governments reflects how man acts in society.

6. Lefever, Ernest W. For Whom Does the Council for Social Action Speak? 1950. 8 pages. Available free of charge from the Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

This article deals with two questions: What authority do church groups have when they attempt to influence national policies? Must church agencies remain silent on controversial issues until there is agreement in the group they represent?

7. Lefever, Ernest W. "World Politics, U.S. Policy and You," Intercollegian (Nov., 1953). Four-page reprints available for 5¢, $4.00 a hundred, from Department of International Justice and Goodwill, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

Indicates specific ways American citizens can work for world peace and security by influencing U.S. foreign policy decisions. Includes a critique of the "non-political" approach to world politics.

BPL 8. McLean, Joseph E. Politics is What You Make It. 1952. 31 pages. Available for 25¢ from the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

A primer on how to be effective in politics. For the average reader.

9. Miller, William. "A Theologically Biased View of Protestant Politics," in Religion in Life, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter 1951-52), pages 52-64.

A critique of the non-political approach of American Protestants to politics. To be effective in politics citizens must seek their objects by using the major instruments of political power.

10. Nelson, J. Robert, (ed.) The Christian Student and the World Struggle. 1952. 81 pages. Available for 50¢ from the Association Press, 291 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y.

A generally helpful book. Note especially the chapters by John Bennett, Ernest Lefever, and Gordon Shull dealing with ethics and political responsibility in specific terms.

11. "Programming for World Affairs," Adult Leadership, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July-August 1953), 32 pages. Available for 50¢ from Adult Leadership, 743 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.

The articles in this issue are particularly helpful to community groups looking for practical ideas on how to run educational and action programs on world affairs.

12. "Protestants in Political Action," Social Action, Vol. 16, No. 6, (June 1950), 42 pages. Available for 15¢ from the Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

A critical analysis of the types of Protestant political action and a program for effective action in the future. For the average reader.

BPL 13. Register Christian Opinion. 1953. 18 pages. Available for 5¢ from Methodist Board of World Peace, 740 Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill.

A directory of the 83rd Congress, including the names of Representatives and Senators, giving their party affiliation, State and district represented. Includes the main Congressional standing committees and their members. An important guide for citizens who wish to register their opinion where the foreign policy decisions are being made.

14. Significant Roll Calls of the 83rd Congress. (Issued every 3 months while Congress is in session) Vol. 1, No. 2 (June-August 1953), 24 pages. Available for 10¢ from the League of Women Voters, 1026 17th St., Washington 6, D.C.

This is a "box score" on the voting record of each member of the House and Senate on major foreign and domestic issues, such as foreign aid, immigration, treaties and trade. Includes a summary of legislative action on these and other important issues.

15. Rosenhaupt, Hans W. How to Wage Peace. New York: John Day Co., 1949. 248 pages.

A field manual of advice to local groups. It contains guides to relief and service organizations, exchange of persons programs, and tips on lobbying before Congress.

16. Voorhis, Jerry. The Christian in Politics. New York: The Association Press, 1951. 136 pages.

A practical primer on principles, political issues, and techniques, by a former Congressman. For the average reader.

L. CHANNELS OF INFORMATION, INSIGHT AND INFLUENCE

To influence effectively U.S. foreign policy decisions we need more than a general background of principles and information provided by books and pamphlets. We must also keep up with current developments by consulting channels of public information--magazines, newspapers, radio and TV. Responsible sources of current intelligence which present significant facts in a context which gives them meaning are listed below. The standards we used in selecting these sources are approximately the same as those developed by the Commission on Freedom of the Press in their report, A Free and Responsible Press, University of Chicago Press, 1947. These standards are summarized in "The Christian Faith and Public Opinion," pages 25 and 26 (See K, 2, above). In addition to general sources, information put out by responsible church, women's, civic, economic, political, and foreign policy groups is often helpful. To be most effective we should work through one or more organizations which are active in foreign policy affairs and which provide a channel for us to express our convictions at the points where decisions are being made.

1. Magazines and Newsletters. The periodicals in this section were selected because of their accurate and balanced reporting of foreign policy issues and their responsible interpretation of these issues.

   a) A Christian Newsletter on International Affairs, published monthly by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y., for $1.00 per year.

This newsletter reports facts and comment on current foreign policy issues, keeps up with Congress, and carries items on what the churches are doing. It also notes good books, pamphlets, and articles. Edited especially for local groups.

b) Christianity and Crisis. A bi-weekly, published at 537 West 121st St., New York 27, N.Y. for $2.00 per year.

This journal, edited by Professors Reinhold Niebuhr and John Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, provides a Christian commentary on major national and world issues.

c) Commonweal, The. Published weekly by the Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. for $7.00 per year.

A group of Roman Catholic laymen edits this journal which provides a brilliant and responsible commentary on U.S. politics and culture. It is regarded as one of America's best magazines of opinion.

d) Congressional Quarterly, published weekly by Congressional Quarterly News Features, 1156-19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Minimum annual subscription, $50.00.

This is generally considered to be the most comprehensive, accurate, and readable report on what is happening in Congress. It analyzes and reports on the issues facing Congress, Congressional voting, committee hearings, the pressure groups, and important political personalities. The Quarterly is not usually available to individuals, but can be found in most college and the larger public libraries.

e) Department of State Bulletin. Published weekly by the U.S. Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. for $7.50 per year. Available from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

This bulletin carries the texts of official documents, speeches and press releases. For advanced readers.

f) Foreign Affairs. Published quarterly by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., 58 East 68th St., New York 21, N.Y. for $6.00 per year.

One of the most respected professional publications in the field. For advanced readers, but many articles are popularly written.

g) Foreign Policy Bulletin. Published bi-weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y. for $4.00 per year.

Carries comments on major foreign policy issues. Useful for local study groups.

h) Information Service. Published weekly, except during July and August, by the Central Department of Research and Survey, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y., for $2.50 per year.

A valuable source for local groups. Contains reports on the current legislative picture in Congress, on economic, political and foreign affairs, as well as on eduction and religion.

i) National Voter, The. Published bi-weekly by the League of Women Voters, 1026 17th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C., for $1.00 per year.

Brief, accurate and incisive reports on major foreign and domestic issues before Congress. Suggests what citizens can do.

j) Religion at the News Desk. A radio script published weekly by Religion at the News Desk, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Conn. for $4.50 per year.

Please Correct Error on Page 23

Due to a misprint on page 23 the 10th newspaper was not listed and some percentages were given incorrectly. Please correct as follows:

9)	Baltimore Sun	23%	24%
10)	Milwaukee Journal	21%	--

If you find other errors, we would appreciate your calling them to our attention.

Ernest W. Lefever
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue - New York 10, N.Y.

This is a Christian interpretation of public events prepared by a group of Protestant specialists in ethics and the social sciences. More than half of the scripts deal with foreign policy.

k) Reporter, The. Published every two weeks by the Fortnightly Publishing Co., Inc., 220 East 42nd St., New York 17, N.Y., for $5.00 per year.

Regarded by many educators, political scientists, and religious leaders as the most responsible journal on public affairs in the U.S. It is well-written and illustrated. For the average reader.

l) United Nations Reporter. Published monthly by the United Nations, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, for $1.00 per year.

A brief, illustrated review of the work of the United Nations.

m) World Politics. A quarterly journal published by the Princeton University Press, Box 231, Princeton, New Jersey, for $5.00 per year.

This new and respected journal takes a fundamentally political approach to international affairs. For advanced readers.

2. Newspapers. Every person ought to read at least one good newspaper. This is possible in only a few places in the U.S. without importing an out-of-town or out-of-state paper. The best and most complete source of current intelligence is the New York Times. Section 4, "The News of the Week in Review," of the Sunday Times is regarded by many experts as the best summary of the news available in the U.S. In Section 4, foreign affairs are covered far more adequately than in any of the so-called news weeklies. The Magazine Section of the Sunday Times is also one of the best journals of opinion on public issues.

The ten newspapers listed below were selected in a poll of 213 daily newspaper publishers from 46 states, conducted in 1952 by Edward L. Bernay, a well-known counsel on public relations. The publishers each named their top ten with these standards in mind--reporting the news fully and impartially, working for social change in the interests of greater justice, and serving as a forum for free discussion. Mr. Bernays also polled 171 opinion leaders from industry, labor, education, religion, etc., and these people named eight of the ten papers on the publishers' list. (The poll is reported in Editor and Publisher, May 17, 1952, pages 11 and 59). Here are the top ten named by the publishers and the top eight named by the group leaders, giving the percentage of the vote by each group.

Newspapers	Publishers' Vote	Group Leaders' Vote
1) New York Times	89%	97%
2) St. Louis Post-Dispatch	74%	54%
3) Christian Science Monitor	41%	58%
4) Louisville Courier Journal	38%	23%
5) Kansas City Star	36%	23%
6) New York Herald-Tribune	35%	65%
7) Chicago Daily News	31%	---
8) Washington Post	29%	41%
9) Baltimore Sun	21%	---

3. Radio and TV Commentators. More and more people these days rely upon radio and TV for their daily diet of news and news interpretations. There are many commentators, but only a few give a balanced account and responsible interpretation of current events. The 16 commentators listed in this section have been selected because each has received one or more special awards for high quality work. Some received the George Foster Peabody Award, given by the

School of Journalism at the university of Georgia. This award is for outstanding work in radio and TV in fields such as entertainment, drama, and news reporting. Usually there is one award each year in each field. The Peabody Award is generally regarded as the highest possible recognition in the radio world. Each year the Overseas Press Club grants six radio awards, one in each of six categories of reporting and interpreting foreign news from abroad. Each commentator is listed along with his award(s),the year received, his radio network and the time he was on the air as of August 1953. We recognize that there are other competent local and network commentators, but we had no objective way of listing them here.

(Note: OPC means Overseas Press Club, and Peabody means the George Foster Peabody Award.)

American Broadcasting Company (ABC).

1) Agronsky, Martin (Peabody 1953) Monday to Saturday at 8-8:15 am EDST.

2) Canham, Erwin (Peabody 1949) Tuesdays at 9:45-10:00 pm EDST.

3) Davis, Elmer (Peabody 1940, 1947, 1950) Monday to Friday at 7:15-7:30 EDST.

Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

1) Costello, Bill (OPC 1951) Sunday at 12:45-1:00 pm EDST.

2) Collingwood, Charles (Peabody 1942) Sunday at 9:15-9:30 am EDST.

3) Downs, Bill (OPC 1952) Monday to Saturday at 8-8:15 am EDST. (He is the Washington correspondent on the World News Roundup.)

4) Hollenbeck, Don (Peabody Citation 1947) no regular radio program now-on the 6 o'clock Report.)

5) Leseur, Larry (OPC 1951) Saturday at 6:15-6:30 pm EDST. He is also heard in special reports on the United Nations during sessions open to the public.

6) Murrow, Edward R. (Peabody 1943, 1944, 1948, 1949-OPC 1940, 1947, 1948, 1950, 1952) Monday to Friday at 7:45-8:00 pm EDST.-on TV Tuesday at 10:30-11:00 pm EDST.

7) Schoenbrun, David (OPC 1951) no set program at moment. (He is the CBS correspondent in Paris.)

8) Sevareid, Eric (Peabody 1949) Monday to Friday at 11-11:15 pm EDST.

9) Smith, Howard K. (OPC 1951,1952) Sunday at 12:30-12:45 pm EDST.

Mutual Broadcasting System (Mutual).

1) Brown, Cecil (OPC 1941, Peabody 1941) Monday to Friday at 10-10:15 am, Saturday at 7:55-8:00 pm and Sunday at 6:25-6:30 pm EDST.

National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

1) Cassidy, Henry (OPC 1945) Monday to Friday at 10:30-10:35 am EDST.

2) Chaplin, W.W. (OPC 1945) no set programs now. He is an NBC foreign correspondent.

3) Muller, Merrill (OPC 1945) no set program now. He is an NBC foreign correspondent.

4. Organizations: There are hundreds of organizations interested in influencing U.S. foreign policy. Some are primarily educational and take no position on specific foreign policy questions. Others take positions and work actively through their members to influence policy accordingly. To be most effective citizens must work through one or more organizations, especially through those which take positions on foreign policy questions and serve as a channel for citizens to express their convictions at the point where decisions are actually being made. The two major political parties are the most effective instruments available for translating the will of the people into national policy.

Christian citizens should study the foreign policy pronouncements of their denomination and of the National Council of Churches. They should express their convictions as citizens through the party of their choice and through the special interest groups to which they belong--business, labor, civic, and professional. Listed here are some organizations that are particularly effective in foreign policy.

a) American Association for the United Nations, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

The AAUN has an educational program "supporting the UN" and full U.S. participation in it. Publishes helpful literature. Has 40,000 individual members, and 85 chapters.

b) Americans for Democratic Action, 1341 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

An educational and political action organization that takes positions on public issues, including foreign policy questions. Publishes helpful literature. Has 40,000 individual members and 125 branches.

c) Christian Action, 537 West 121st St., New York 22, N.Y.

This newly formed independent Protestant group seeks to apply the principles of the ecumenical pronouncements to major social and political problems in the U.S. Publishes a quarterly, Christianity and Society and a Newsletter. It has 650 individual members and 10 local groups.

d) Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., 58 East 68th St., New York 21, N.Y.

A professional organization producing quality literature on current foreign policy issues. Publishes the quarterly, Foreign Affairs. It has 927 individually-invited members and has affiliated committees in 25 U.S. cities. It distributes free of charge nine times a year, a group discussion guide, Let's Talk About. Each issue includes one article from Foreign Affairs, together with an introduction, summary and discussion helps. Groups wishing to use this service should send the name and address of their chairman and the number members in the group to the New York office.

e) Democratic Party, 1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Foreign policy literature is available on request.

f) Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

An educational organization directed toward "constructive development of United States foreign policy." Publishes semi-monthly the Foreign Policy Bulletin and the bi-monthly Headline Series books on foreign policy issues. It has 20,000 individual members and related world affairs councils in major cities. The location of the nearest local council can be had on request. These centers have pamphlets, books, and audio-visual material for the use by church and civic groups.

g) League of Women Voters, 1026 17th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

An educational and political action group seeking to encourage "informed participation of citizens in government," Publishes twice monthly a useful legislative newsletter, The National Voter, as well as other items. Has 106,000 individual members, 40 state and 824 local branches.

h) National Council of Churches ,Department of International Justice and Goodwill, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

The Department (which published this Reading List) is the international affairs arm of the National Council of Churches, representing 30 Protestant and Orthodox bodies with 35 million members. Its aim is to develop in church members informed attitudes on world affairs which lead to responsible participation in the foreign policy-making process. A Christian Newsletter on International Affairs and other literature is available.

i) Republican Party, 1625 I Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Foreign policy literature is available on request.

j) United Nations, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York.

All requests for UN literature should be sent to the official sales agency in this country: International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Questions about the UN may be sent directly to the Department of Public Information.

k) United States Department of State, Office of Public Affairs, Washington 25, D.C.

Write for a list of publications available. Single copies of some items are sent free on request. Literature should be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.